1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages.

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby.

## The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[1] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece.

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away.

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



# [XII]

## Local Government

829 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in
154 a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his
[666] scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote.

829 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between
● 619 Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up
[666] and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mercurial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

## Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5 / (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows:

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it.

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers.

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



879 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

| Subject | Class hours by grades per week | | | | | | Total (per subject) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th | |
| Religion | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| Ancient Greek | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 51 |
| Modern Greek | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| Latin | | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 12 |
| French | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 17 |
| History | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 18 |
| Mathematics | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 22 |
| Science | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 19 |
| Geography | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 8 |
| Hygiene | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Handicrafts | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 7 |
| Singing | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 6 |
| Philosophy | | | | | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Physical education | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| Total class hours (per week) | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 213 |

*Ancient Greek.* To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

*Latin.* To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



*French*. To learn to speak, write, and understand French; to understand and appreciate French literature and through it modern French civilization. (Seventeen hours.) 873

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that out of the 213 hours covered in high school, 98 are in languages. Twenty-five percent of the time is devoted to ancient Greek.

*History*. To study the way of life and thought of peoples. Comparison of ancient with modern times so as to allow the formation of an opinion which will help the student understand the influences of one historical period on another. History should lead to understanding of the Greek nation and civilization and their influence on contemporary religions, economies, science, arts, and morality. Teaching of patriotism and performance of the duties of citizens. (Eighteen hours.) [619]

*Mathematics — Cosmography*. To improve the ability of students in understanding arithmetic and geometry; in thinking clearly and precisely; to create the belief that mathematics is an important, independent science. Purpose of teaching cosmography: Learning about the celestial bodies, their relations, and the laws concerning their movements. (Twenty-two hours.)

*Physical Sciences and Biology*. Study of nature and importance of the physical sciences in life. Increase the students' love of nature. Application of science to industry and technology. Biology: Study of life and habitat of all living creatures in order to understand the uses of plants and animals in daily life. (Science: nineteen hours.)

*Geography*. Study of the surface of the earth, especially the area of Greece; influence of the land on human life; study of the people of Greece and the beauty of the land. (Eight hours.)

*Hygiene*. To improve the students' knowledge of hygienic conditions in life with relation to hygienic habits in personal and social life. For girls: Study of woman's body. Hygiene for babies and children. Hygiene of married and unmarried women; hygiene necessary for various ages of life. Nursing, elementary first aid. Use of drugs and medicine at home. (One hour for boys; two hours for girls.)

Philosophy is an introduction to psychology and logic, while handicrafts are taught not as manual training or shopwork but to further the "artistic education of students and to teach them to make small things with their hands."

And the curriculum guide correctly advises: "It is wise to create a musical life in the high school. The students will be better occupied during their recreational and relaxation time." Gymnastics consists of "physical exercises, games, swimming, dances, excursions, and several military (elementary) exercises for the boys and classic and folk dancing for the girls."

Such is the intellectual bill of fare for peasant boys attending the gymnasium in the nearest large village or town. There is, of course, no connec-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see.

## Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church.

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



795 184 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanasis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 619 659 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

[793]

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paid by the state as civil servants, and religous belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interst and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[8]

Greeks view contemporary events in term of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[9] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because thee touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

## The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priet, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married andunmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests ae usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmaried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if poperly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropditan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constntinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional aid honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief funtionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



626

The people speak against the person.
If a woman gossips, people ignore her.
If a man drinks too much, they beat him.
People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.
Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.
The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.
They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.
They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

[627]

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group.

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

621

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate."

619

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in

[575]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



619 [575] the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia. They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have [602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really [203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look 178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from 619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1



observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[1]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika



an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika



619 829 181 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

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For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classical Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

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3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika



369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepoztlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1



the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism.

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate.

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1



of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God". Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

## A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION

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"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen."

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But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands.

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It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation.

[619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1



## *Hill Villages*

### KOTTA

621 [361] Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 669 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starving. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war conditions. [491] The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Kotta

[Hill Villages]



corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow.

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]



villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]



175 669 619 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Until 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 161 433 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopulation – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1



*The Political Cosmos*

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate.

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches.

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism.

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

### VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no opportunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible, which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care, when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private opinion on international and national events and policies; politics, well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the difference.

In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level. Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satisfaction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading. The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and scholarly standard.

**RELIGION**

Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks; and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greekness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are [illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of [illegible]